/87 cont./
771 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[772] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of
black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders
with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B
/see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching
the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
771 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
331 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste
of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls
are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this
region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the
simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).
256 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro
women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present
any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is,
[618] unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, K-ako,
[810] Kama, and Kolpa. The group is also divided into two moities:
aman-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ʔaʔai
and xanaʔa. These may be translated by their Aymara equiva-
622 lents: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as
693 the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is
derived from the word which designates this ornament (xanatʔoʔoa:
"wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (ʔaqk ʔapu)
who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).
771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I
could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of
paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

776 cont. They are as good and as bad
777 Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the
771 center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high
plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem
to be the same as those of the Aymara.

776 The Pačamama, or "Earth-mother," is their principal
[771] divinity, as everywhere else on the high plateau. They also
spoke to me about mal'ku and uxmiri although I was not able to
obtain anything specific or any details about the cult rendered
them. I noticed on the wall near the entry of all the huts a spot
of blood, a reminder of the sacrifice which had been made to
the local spirit at the moment when the house was covered with
its roof. A pile of potatoes which had just been grubbed up was
surmounted with a straw cross, a bottle of alcohol, and some
coca leaves; these were, no doubt, offerings made to the
Pačamama.

778 An old Indian man dictated to me several of the prayers
779 addressed to this divinity on different occasions. She is spoken
of as mal'ku, i.e., "chief," as in Chipaya. Here are the
prayers:

Samtha Mal'kwa	pčuaŽa	Ža'ixma.
Holy Divinity	come	let us offer up libation.

TčŽa	ni koka	samtha	taŽa.
Here is	this coca	Holy One	I will give.

k'ŏoina	koka	taki.
Potato	coca	I give.

Ilama (č)	taŽa	Samtha	Mal'ku.
Llama	I will give	Holy	Divinity.

773 Mythology. I was able to gather fragments of an old
[771] myth at Arosaqui, of which I possess a more complete version
which was narrated by the Chipaya. "In former times there was

/113 cont./

Christian for at least 300 years. and that they are today in a truly sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously. Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My documents have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal°ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); $\underline{\check{c}}$ corresponds to the Spanish "ch," $\underline{\check{s}}$ to the French "ch," $\underline{\check{j}}$ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and $\underline{l'}$ is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign $\underline{k^x}$ is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel $\underline{e}$ is a very open e close to a closed $\underline{a}$.

/325/

The Religion

Preliminary Remarks

Aymara and Spanish influence. The Čipaya /Chipaya/ have probably been Catholic for a very long time. I do not know the date when they were converted but I presume it to have been a long time ago. It is possible that their conversion to Christianity took place at the time when a priest came to settle at Corque, perhaps at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The churches of the neighboring Aymara villages were doubtless already in existence in the eighteenth century and perhaps even in the seventeenth. The one that stands in the middle of the Čipaya clans can hardly be more than 50 years old. The Indians were incapable of giving me information on this subject, as was the curé of Huachacalla on whom the Čipaya depend. These Indians are totally ignorant of all religious doctrine, for only once ayear, in June, do they receive a visit from their spiritual shepherd, who has nothing more pressing than to leave this desolate region and this wretched flock. The Čipaya nevertheless insist on celebrating their marriages or the birth of their children at the church; in each of these circumstances they undertake the trip to Huachacalla.

The religion of the Čipaya is essentially pagan as you will be convinced upon reading the following chapters. The relative isolation of this Uro tribe, the often superficial work of the first Spanish missionaries, the worthlessness and lack of zeal of the modern Bolivian clergy have contributed in different degrees to the preservation of the beliefs and practices of the pre-Columbian epoch in this lost village. So many causes must have favored the persistence of the past that it is difficult to explain to oneself /326/ the number of Christian elements which are mingled with the ancient rites. The whole way of life of this fossilized people would make one think

/326 cont./

[171] [177] [782] [916] them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism. But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Sometimes even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

796 [177] There would be little required for certain festivals, such as those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous esslesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed [944] hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character [576] must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The 796 554 177 president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez, "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

177 Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study [943] of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

/326 cont./

179 mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of
192 Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the
[191] Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even
179 Kičua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last de-
188 tail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

179 Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not
533 impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence.
[191] The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

174 The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly
191 recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century.
[191] They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence.
On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the
171 great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Ay-
174 mara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

/334 cont./

The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku, he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yareta.

The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).

1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

[17th Century]

[175] [361] [103] [648] /36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

[797] ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town....

[791] [147] [142] [308] [181] Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake....They are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

[101] [131] In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Simillake.

[423] [489] [926] ...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

[175] [72]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1001) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

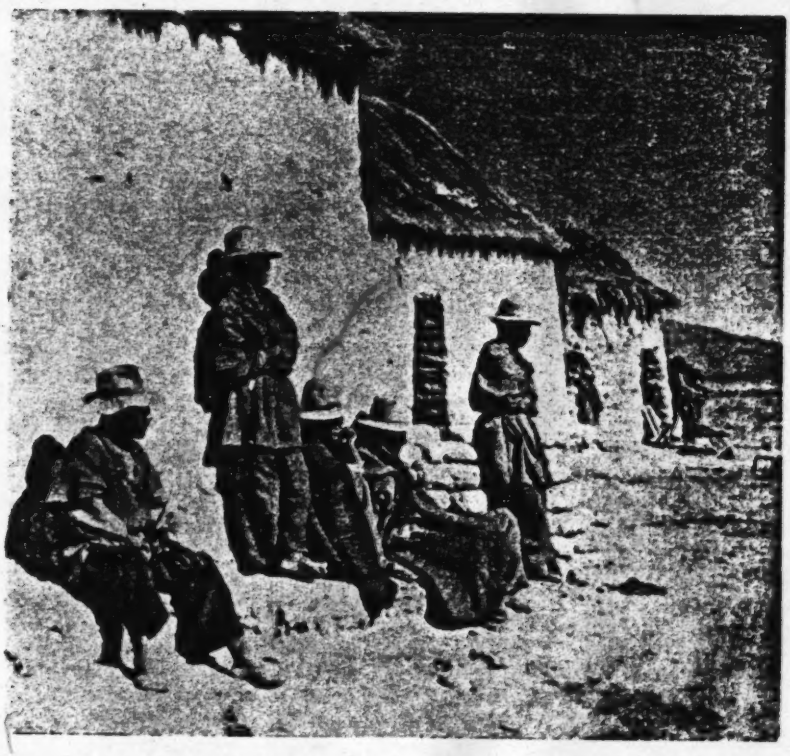
The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characterstic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally



Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on P. 219]

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *mallcus;* the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[29] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Ṫuintatito* (= Aymara *Ṫunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotsamptñi* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-wawa-samptñi* (the goddess of the Lake), *Pačani-samptñi-maḷku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *maḷku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kalwari-čiči* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-samptñi* (god of the earth) and *Samptñi-maḷku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[30] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

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[29] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprizingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a-match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[30] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanacu fell down."